

1: Gayton

624

Yokuts NS29

[Material on the winatum, the official messenger and sub-chief,
will also be found in Categories 202, 796 and 769. --Analyst]

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- 103 4. telwe'yit: a Tachi village
 5. ugonə
 131 6. hono'tan (to stop suddenly): a Nutunutu village
 7. čī'yī (bones): probably Kroeber's Chiau, a Nutunutu village
 8. galwa šiu: a Tachi village
 9. wai'u
 10. u'djiu
 11. go'lon
 12. ci
 13. yi'mel
 14. waita čuiyui
 15. pi'sras (Pierce's Ranch?): a modern rancheria
 16. č'iu'ta
 17. wit'tsolo'win: a Wowol island village
 18. wa'lna
 19. yiwo'mni: a Wowol village
 20. sukwu'tnu: a Wowol village*

Two places not definitely located were:
 21, wo'kon; 22, mike'yit, a "bottomless" pond near the present city of Tulare.

Warfare

578 According to J.A., who says she derived much of her knowledge from an old Wowol woman now dead, the Chunut and Wowol were particularly friendly and both were on bad terms with two allies to their north, the Tachi and Nutunutu.
 [20] Signal fires were built on occasion, and warnings and arrangements for battle were made.

[72] Doctors were particularly sought out as victims in a battle, and vengeance was wreaked by flaying and impaling their corpses. Head-taking was practised as well as flaying.

701 There was no war chief, nor did an ordinary chief take any special part in battles,
 624 though the account secured by Newman (see below) indicates the contrary. Any brave man, particularly one with Raven (ho'toi) as a supernatural helper, would lead war expeditions. Rarely
 726 were more than two or three persons killed.

726 J.A. thinks the bodies remained unburied (which seems unlikely unless the losers were completely routed). She disclaims knowledge of motives for war.

That battles were frequently prearranged is clear from J.A.'s statement, Newman's account, and the account of a battle between the Pitanisha and Altinin.²⁷ This does not preclude a sudden flare-up such as that described by J.A. when two doctors found themselves unwelcome among the Nutunutu. A certain captiousness or predisposition to fight is suggested in two Yauelmani tales, wherein a mere shout in

²⁷ Possibly the Wowol village called "Buhai" by early Spanish explorers (Gayton, Estudillo, 70 ff.); some further information on Southern Valley sites is contained in Wedel's Archaeological Investigations at Buena Vista Lake (particularly pp. 12-17).

*Kroeber, The Yokuts Language, 274.

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622 Chunut; Tipwatswat, Tokelyuwich, Wowol; Malha'lis (Joe Thomas; José) Nutuwich moiety, Tachi. Pohasa's son died before he was old enough to officiate as a chief, and Tipwatswat (Charlie Thomas)⁵⁷ succeeded Pohasa in importance. Some years later Tipwatswat wanted J.A. to be a tiya because she was a paternal niece of Pohasa. This suggestion she rejected "because she would have to entertain visitors and strangers and she had no man to protect her from doctors." Wep's, J.A.'s brother, acted as a tiya on ceremonial occasions.

The last Tachi chief of importance, Kanti, had no children, brothers, or sisters that J.A. can recall. When he was very old he gave a feast at which he selected three men and two women, all of chiefly lineage, to continue the duties which yet remained to them in their disintegrated culture. Motsa, whose father had been a Tachi chief and who was himself already known as a chief of dubious personal repute, was maternal "nephew" (mother's cousin's son) to Kanti. He was said to be about Kanti's own age; Kanti selected him as a successor. The other four were Sokai (Joaquín), a Tachi; Gomep's (George García), a Wolasi, and his sister, Watsmat; and Yaowatat (Tachi) a daughter of the Tachi chief, Joe Thomas.

Estudillo mentions four Tachi chiefs, Mariano Tiesar, Goolill, Cullas, and Chilaxas, and two Nutunutu chiefs, Taija (perhaps a corruption of tiya) and Chata, his nephew, and a chief of the Wimilchi, Coytisa. Three chiefs from the same region he assigns to two unidentifiable villages or tribes, Guchita (or Guchaita) and Hocha of Guchetema, and Guchalne of Tatagui.⁵⁸ This was in 1819.

J.A. did not know of Lučúñi, the chief at Telwey't.

624 The official messenger (wina'tem) had
202 much the same duties as in the foothills. Both chiefs and shamans had these assistants, being called respectively, ti'yan winatem and a Nutun winatem. While J.A. says that Dove was the totem for either class of messenger, she has at other times stated that Roadrunner (o'ioi) might also be a messenger's totem. [616] Moiety distinctions did not hold for chief's messengers, who served a chief irrespective of his moiety. J.A.'s husband, Taupa, a Tokelyuwich Tachi [Hutsammi], said he "sometimes didn't know which side he belonged on because he was a tiya's winatem."

[293] A chief's messenger, when going on an official visit, carried a long cane called site'lami, to the top of which was attached a strand of beads. (J.A. could not say what became of this strand but implied that it was left somewhere.) On entering a village he went directly to the chief's house where he was

⁵⁷Joe Thomas and Charlie Thomas are not related.

⁵⁸Gayton, Estudillo, 78, 80.

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624 served food. The first bit that he put in his
[202] mouth he spat out "just like Dove."²⁹
The Chunut had an official not found in the foothills. This was the pine'ti or lane'wi, official adviser. J.A. had difficulty defining his functions. Magpie (o'čoč) was his totem, but his duties were not associated with either moiety. Seemingly he acted as a go-between for ordinary persons and a chief. "If a man wanted to kill a doctor, he would go to pineti to make the request. He'd be told to wait until pineti had consulted the captain." However, he did not speak at ceremonies for chiefs, who often talked directly to the people. Another official made proclamations for the chief.

624 The official proclaimer was hile'tits, a
786 term often applied to crow (kankas), his totem, just as Dove is often referred to as "winatum." The chief paid this man to make announcements for him. If at a mourning ceremony a chief was ready to collect money, he would call the announcer, give him "about ten cents," and tell him to go through the camp telling the people "to pay now."

Kroeber equates a Tachi official "hohotich" with the "hiletits" of Yauelmani and "hiauta" of Yaudanchi, classifying them all as clowns "whose business it was to mock sacred ceremonies, speak contradictorily, be indecent, and act nonsensically."³⁰ It would seem that hiletits should not be in the clowning category.

624 Another man who was not a tribal official
[787] but had a specific function was pine'wits (the hiau'ta of the foothills). This was a man of great bravery who would kill doctors; such a man dreamed of Cooper's hawk. While his functions were the result of his private special powers, his services as a destroyer of malevolent shamans brought him public recognition.

622 On Tachi chieftaincy we have Gifford's information gathered in 1915, which agrees in large part with that given by the Chunut J.A. in 1928-1929. The José of Gifford's data is Joe Thomas, according to J.A.; her information regarding the woman Motsi corroborates Gifford's.

616 The Tachi possess moiety chiefs. The
622 title of the chief is diya. A male chief is described as noča diya, a female chief as mukela diya. In one recent case of succession the Tachi "elected" a cousin of the decedent to the position. Both were toxelyuwis. The informants said that a close relative of a dead chief was "elected" anciently, always one of the same moiety, of course. However, a dying chief might name his successor, his son, for example.

There were always two chiefs in a settlement, one for each moiety. In 1915 Joaquín Robert was the nutuwuts chief in the rancheria

²⁹This evidently refers to some habit of the mourning dove.

³⁰Handbook, 497.

[P. 50a] Tulamni

262 could be shaken off (as sugar).¹²² A sugar was
137 made from the compressed pulp of a shrub fruit.
Many other food plants mentioned by Pages would
doubtless be identifiable by a botanist ac-
quainted with the flora of the region.

264 Two meals were taken, one at sunrise, the
other in the midafternoon.

283 String.--It appears that both hemp and
nettle were used for making string, for, of the
two plants, Pages says one grows in a moist
soil and appears much like true hemp, the other,
growing in dry soil, has "leaves like the
walnut, ashy colored and downy, with a white
flower."

276 Tobacco.--The plant was gathered in
abundance and, ground with lime, was made into
a paste and formed into "cones or small loaves"
which were wrapped in tule leaves and hung in
the house to dry. It was taken after supper,
and one could subsist on it "for three days
without nourishment."

Men kept their smoking tobacco, wrapped in
leaves, in an antelope horn which they carried
in their headbands. A most un-Yokuts-like
practice is described: after supper "they set
themselves to smoking tobacco, one after the
other, from a great stone pipe";¹²³ that is,
smoking after supper is Yokuts, the single
great stone pipe is not. This indeed may be a
truly southern Yokuts feature.

622 Chieftainship.--Like Powers, Pages attrib-
624 utes district chiefs to the Yokuts; one might
have four or five villages, each with its own
chief, under the authority of a superior
"district" chief. The chief is said to be
monogamous, to receive tribute in "seeds, fruit,
game, and fish," to counsel on punishments with
the advice of his constituents. The lesser
chiefs kept their superior informed of events
in their villages, of civil offences, and
turned offender's over to him for reprimand.
During such an act of reprimand the culprit,
whether man or woman, remains standing with

[P. 506] Tulamni

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disheveled hair hanging down over the face."
[Possibly Pages mistook the winatum and his functions for those of a chiefly official.]

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Games.---Two dice games, and hoop and pole, are recorded by Pages. The first, for women only, was played with dice of snail shells filled with tar, thrown on a basketry tray. The count was based on "the number of shells which stop mouth up, whether they are fewer, an equal number, or more than those which stop mouth down." The play passed from one to another, "each one wagering some little article appropriate to woman's use."

Men played at stick dice of which there were ten, marked on one face with cross lines. The sticks were tossed at a "wooden tube, three spans long and one in width." They all had to fall mark outward [upward?] in order to win. A successful player continued until he failed, when the next player took up the sticks.

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The tossed hoop and pole game he describes as played on a smooth space some 10 yards long and wide enough for two runners, all enclosed with a fence of brush and grass slightly over a span high. There were two players, with pointed poles $\frac{1}{2}$ yards [as translated] long, and "a little wheel made of strong straps fastened together so as to leave in the center a hole about the size of a real [the size of a dime, tr.l." As the hoop was thrown in the air, both men hurled their poles at it "so as to catch the wheel or thread it upon the stake before it falls to the ground."

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Signals.---Pages states that during all-night celebrations watchmen were posted "who give signals between themselves and for the entire village by whistling or by strumming the cords of their bows, thereby giving notice that the enemy is approaching, that a house is burning, or that there is some other accident in the silence of the night." Estudillo saw signal fires in use throughout the valley.¹²⁴

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622 administrative abilities, but added that, if he proved unable, another person would be chosen to function in his place. Therefore the rule of inheritance, as given above, was not rigidly followed: a brother or son might be ignored if thought unsuitable, or he could himself decline the office if he wished. A brother, son, or grandchild might be selected, but a cousin was an unusual choice.

Although the wives, sisters, and daughters of a chief were also termed tiya, they did not function save in the role of hostesses on ceremonial occasions. A great burden of housewifely management fell upon them as they had to be prepared at any moment to serve food to a visitor, and at ceremonial functions large quantities of food were needed. A chief usually had two wives at once; other men were usually monogamous, at least in residence.

778 The eagle was invariably the totemic or
825 lineage symbol of the chief and his descendants
622 in the male line in Wukchumni, Gawia, and Yokod society. The falcon (l: m:k), "wolf" (iwe'y:t, the mountain coyote), and cougar (weh: š:t) are mentioned as associated or secondary totems though they are not, in the Central Foothills, the major totems for any chiefly lineage. How these function as secondary totems is not clear, and one gets the impression that it is merely a carry-over from mythology wherein these, too, are "important persons" though Eagle was the chief.

622 There were no insignia of office for a chief or his relatives.

There were two or three chiefs to every tribe, though the number naturally varied with the size of the tribe. For local matters pertaining to their own villages, such as family quarrels, the time to move camp for seed-gathering, or the building of a new sweat house, a chief could make his own decisions. Anyone who wished might go directly to the chief for advice, instructions, or aid, but most commonly the chief's messenger (winatum) served as a go-between. "The tiya usually sent his winatum to give people messages (for instance, to stop a quarrel), or people sent word to the tiya the same way" (S.G.).

For a matter which involved intervillage activity within a tribe, all the chiefs had to be in agreement. The usual need for this came at the time of the Annual Mourning Ceremony, which was a tribal affair.

If one chief made a suggestion, as for a mourning ceremony, the other chiefs had to agree before he could go ahead with his plans. He would tell his winatums to get the other chiefs. In the meantime he could go out to the community fire and start talking to the people who were gradually assembling. Everyone in camp who wanted to came at such a time regardless of age or sex. [A young menstruant would not go, but an older menstruating woman would go and stay in the background.] As the

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622 chief was telling of his plans, the other chiefs, having arrived, privately agreed or disagreed. The speaker's winatum went to them, asking their opinion. If all were in agreement, they all held a low-voiced consultation about specific points, for instance, the date for a ceremony, and the decisions were announced at once by the chief holding the session (M. and J.P.).

A chief's sons or brothers might go out to hunt, but he himself did not. His winatum would see to it that hunters supplied the chief with meat, game, and fish. No informant was able to state exactly how this arrangement worked, save that the chief did not pay for what he received. Information from the Southern Valley by Fages, and from the Northern Foothills by Powers, tells of a fairly complex and defined system of tribute-taxation, so to say, for those regions. Possibly something of the same sort operated in the Central Foothills and I failed to get a clue to it.

[576] But whatever was received by the chief, he in turn disposed of, to a certain extent, to needy persons. It was a particular duty of the chief to see that no one was hungry or without clothing and shelter. Very aged persons or orphans sometimes had no one to care for them. The recipients of his care were not obligated to make payment in money, objects, or services, unless out of a sense of gratitude. It is in Yokuts etiquette to return gift for gift, and M.L. said that a widow, who perhaps received meat from the chief, would give a basket of acorn meal or something of the sort to the chief's wife when she found the opportunity. Such an occurrence took place within M.L.'s own family when her widowed mother, without grown sons, was dependent upon others for game.

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624 A particular and constant source of financial drainage to the chief was the payment of the winatums, not merely his own, but others arriving with messages. Winatums and all visitors to the village were invited to come to the chief's home where they paid their respects, as it were, and were given a meal. A visitor who did not go directly to the chief's house was looked up by the winatum and invited to go there. A person who refused would be looked upon with gravest suspicion; indeed, no one did refuse.

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556 Informants like to refer to the chief's wealth, but his means of acquiring it are not altogether clear. He received payments for ceremonial performances and kept a portion, the remainder going to the performers (doctors, singers, winatums) involved in the ceremony. Trade brought him profit also. And probably in the receiving and distributing of foods he was not a loser. The role of the chief as a gambler was not inquired into, but money-lending at high interest was a common practice of chiefs and other men who had the capital, especially before the Annual Mourning Ceremony.

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[P. 95b]

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The methods by which chiefs and shamans coöperated to their mutual benefit has been treated at length elsewhere.²²⁷ For the Wukchumni, S.G.'s remarks will serve as a summary statement.

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The chief (tia'a) always had money. People made him presents when he was going to give a ceremony. If he got short of money, he would have his doctor kill somebody who was rich. If the chosen victim belonged to another tribe, he would send a gift of money to the chief of that tribe asking him to have his doctor kill that man. If the chief accepted the money, he had his doctor start the process of sickening and killing the rich man. The money received was divided between the doctor and the two chiefs. Doctors who killed in this way made sure that the patient would finally send for them by making him more sick for every other doctor that the sick man sent for.

We usually had good chiefs with good doctors, but sometimes even a good chief would bribe a doctor to kill some man he thought ought to be killed.

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A chief could himself be a shaman, as was J.P.'s grandfather, who was a snake-handler. But there is no instance of a chief being a regular curing shaman, the true doctor who cured or, when bad, caused sickness.

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Subchief.--The Wukchumni and Yaudanchi had a type of secondary chief (tuye'i) whose only function seemed to be to assist the head chiefs of a tribe at the time of the Annual Mourning Ceremony. Although three informants stated that the position was hereditary in the male line, they could not say what members of a subchief's family were called by the term tuye'i, whether or not there was an invariable lineage totem (as Eagle for the chief), or specify any other duties than those mentioned below.

S.G. said that the tuye'i was a kind of secondary chief; the position "went in families" and could be held by either sex. The subchiefs "came behind" the tia'a and made up the deficit amount of money if there was a shortage in meeting the expenses of the Annual Mourning Ceremony. Young male tuye'i of about ten years of age or over contributed.²²⁸ If something happened to prevent a chief from presiding at the mourning ceremony, the subchiefs managed it and were the first served at meals. On the evening of the fifth day of the ceremony, the subchiefs gave a feast for the head chief or chiefs at which they presented these men with the money, baskets, and blankets.

²²⁷Gayton, Yokuts-Mono Chiefs and Shamans.

²²⁸This seems excessively young, for Yokuts culture does not provide a means of accruing money at such an age; 20 years would seem more probable.

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According to J.P. "the tuye'i came under the tia'a." There were four or five of these in a tribe. The position was inherited, usually going to a son but sometimes to a brother. J.P. served as a tuye'i at a recent mourning ceremony; his part was to share in the expenses and assist in general plans and their projection. The recent ceremonies are not occasions for money-lending.

The Yaudanchi Tm.W. said the tuye'i helped the tia'a at a duniša (ceremony). "If the tia'a had no money these boys had to put up the rest." However, Tm.W. indicated three classes of these subchiefs or financial assistants, thus: "If the tia'a put in \$5.00, the tuye'i put in \$3.00. Behind the tuye'i was the pokni'wad, he put up \$2.00. The nututa was behind the pokni'wad, and he'd put up whatever he had, \$1.00 maybe."²²⁹

[202]

Messenger.--The position of messenger (winatum) was inherited in the male line but the title, like the chief's, and some of the duties applied to the messenger's wife, sisters, sons, and daughters. Not all the siblings in a genealogical stratum served in the office, only those who wished to do so. Probably if the family were small, say with but one or two offspring, pressure would be exerted to see that they followed their father's profession. A modern instance of this is J.P.'s family of several children among whom two have been designated to serve as "winatums" at ceremonial functions, aberrant as they are. In this instance a maternal "inheritance" is being followed, as it is M.P. who is of a winatum's lineage.

Her father and her maternal grandfather were both winatums. And her maternal uncle, following his father, was also a winatum. This, incidentally, is an instance of a marriage between persons of comparable lineages, i.e., her father, a winatum, with the daughter of another winatum. All had Dove as their lineage or totemic symbol.

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The dove, in Central Foothills, invariably is the totemic creature of the winatum, just as Roadrunner is the symbol among the Lake and Northern Foothill groups. M.P. has a tattooed mark on her wrist which she said was "dove's feet" (fig. 9, d).

The term messenger is a misnomer for this officer, for his duties included directing ceremonial activities, even when supervised by a general "dance manager" (see below), seeing that visitors were supplied with shelter, wood, and water, dividing foodstuffs, quieting quarrels, and collecting payments. His wife, sisters, or daughters, served as stewardesses at ceremonies, assisting in the preparing and serving of food. Furthermore, shamans had their own winatums whose duties consisted of

²²⁹My notebook adds: "Informant can't be definite; have impression that this was an inherited and specific position; were required to put up money if called upon."

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624 dressing them in ceremonial regalia, applying paint on their faces and bodies, caring for their paraphernalia during ceremonies, removing and destroying the causes of a sickness extracted from a patient, collecting the shaman's fees for a display or curing.

The following is largely from M.L.

622 The Gawia and Yokod had the same offices and duties of chiefs and winatums as had the Wukchumni and Yaudanchi. Doctors had winatums of their own. A chief or a winatum looked just like any other citizen of his village; he had no special mark or manner of dress. But when [293] traveling a winatum always carried a long slender cane which was not decorated. When he entered another village, he went directly to the chief's house. He was paid by the parties at both ends, i.e., by the chief who sent him and the one who received him.

A chief always sent his winatum from house to house to announce a mourning ceremony or any other news that was to be made public. He would send him to a family with a special message, say, with a request that they cease quarreling, and people sent back word to the chief by the same means.

624 When a winatum arrived at a village, he went directly to the chief's house. A mat was set out for him in front of the house and food was brought to him. He must eat some of the food, but it was not imperative that he finish it. He was joined by the chief and, when he was through his collation, gave his message.

[43] If he had money for exchange he produced it or, if a loan was to be discussed, he kept the money until the chief and his associates were ready to accept. His money he carried in a

[293] purse or sack called gušta'la. This was a complete skin of a wildcat (tu'had), fox (a'dja), or tree squirrel (sa'nsa'wide',t) cured with the fur still on. The head of the skin was pulled up under his breechclout at the left hip. The sack full of money was kept under his neck to protect it.²³⁰ A winatum who stayed the night remained as the chief's guest: he did not go to the local winatum save as a visitor to pass the time of day.

624 For a forthcoming Annual Mourning Ceremony, or for lesser affairs, the winatums made all the arrangements, secured performers, planned the food, wood, and water supply. The number of winatums in a village "depended on the size of the winatum's family," there was usually but one winatum's lineage in a village. The winatum was not a personal servant to the chief but could be called on by anyone for assistance -- provided they paid him for his services. When the Yokod, Gawia, or Chunut [574] [570] visited the Wukchumni they brought their own winatums. Visiting winatums "all helped each other" under the direction of the local head winatum. When a chief had some project on hand

²³⁰ Neck-rests and pillows were a joke to informants who were told of such articles among other people.

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624 that needed extra service, he would ask another chief if the winatums from his village would come to help.

On ordinary occasions of celebration a winatum took charge of the organization and gave orders. "He called for the Bear Dance [when the moment arrived for it to be given] or the pleasure dance (wa'tiyod). At a watiyod everyone kept still and listened to what he said."

The following data on Yaudanchi messengers were contributed by Mr. E.W. Gifford.

Among the Yaudanchi Yokuts, who are without moieties, the winatum is the messenger and attends to camping and feeding of visitors at fiestas. The mourning dove (uplali) was winatum in mythical times and the term uplali seems to be applied to the winatum today. At the time of my visit the informant Francisco Panchó spoke of the incumbent winatum, Dick Francisco, as uplali. The chief (diya) pays the uplali (winatum) after a fiesta is over. In mythical times when the dove was winatum, toxil (eagle) was diya. Limik (falcon) was hiauto or war leader as was also polyun (Cooper's hawk). The hiauto takes orders from the diya. The hawk limik as well as the dove was winatum for the diya in ancient times.

Ceremonial manager.--This position (hide'tits)²³¹ was hereditary in the male line; Raven (ho'toi) was always its family symbol. There was never more than one in a village, as he was not often needed. The chief called on him to be a general manager for a very large gathering like the Annual Mourning Ceremony, and paid him in return. The man's duty was to keep things running smoothly: he called to people to get up in the morning; he went out to meet guests as they arrived, showed them where they were to camp, and notified the chief of their presence; he stopped children who were playing too noisily or women who were quarreling. But at mealtime it was the winatum who announced that food was ready to be eaten.

J.B. gave a somewhat different statement. The manager at ceremonies he called hide'tiĥ and gave Snake (general) as his lineage animal. It was an inherited office; women never held it. "There were two or three of these at every fandango." They consulted with the chief concerning where visitors' camps should be placed, where to have meals, and when to have all the dances; they prevented fighting (and in recent times drinking), and sometimes "called out for dancing, though this was usually a winatum's job." Two particularly efficient managers were Ta'sowik (a Wukchumni-Patwisha) and Ka'osuna (a Telamni).

²³¹Kroeber gives hiletits (Yauelamni) as a clown or ceremonial mocker; he does not record an office of dance manager (Handbook, 497).

[P. 976] Wukchumni

624 Shaman-killer.---The person designated by
756 this term (hi'au'ta) was in no sense a clown,²³²
and it is doubtful if he should be included as
an official. The hi'au'ta was a man without
fear who usually attained this condition
through dreams of Falcon or Cougar. The
[683] hi'au'ta were called upon to rid the community
of an undesirable shaman who the chief agreed
should be killed.

The hi'au'ta was a desperado, he killed
doctors. He had to kill on the first shot or
get killed himself. The tia'a would send him
out to get rid of a bad doctor. When the
doctor set off on a trip the hi'au'ta followed
him and killed him the first chance he got.
There were three to five hi'au'ta in every tribe.
They never did anything funny to make people
laugh (S.G.).

He was a bad man and did not stop fighting
until he had killed a man. He was not afraid
to kill doctors (M.L.).

In my grandmother's time people did not
laugh at doctors. But there was one [kind of]
mean man that was not afraid to. He was called
hi'au'ta -- "smarty." If he had a chance, he'd
kill the doctor first, but if he didn't the
doctor would give him a nosebleed [by super-
natural means], or maybe kill him. They
[hi'au'ta] always died quick, but sometimes
doctors would give one a bad lingering sickness
if he was extra mean (J.P.).

522 Clown.---There was no official clown among
624 the Yokuts. Persons of Coyote lineage clowned
at the Snake Ritual (quod vide), but this was a
matter of personal choice.

Directional Groupings

621 Division of the populace into totemic
616 moieties was not followed by the Wukchumni, al-
[184] though they knew and used the moiety names of
the dichotomized tribes of the lake region. The
terms, for the Wukchumni, were directional in-
dicators applied only to tribes; yet a sense of
opposition did result from this division into
"uplanders" and "lowlanders," just as with the
social moieties.

A formulation of this kind of geographical
moiety and its functions was difficult to make
owing to conflicting or confused statements of
informants. After much discussion with M.L.
and J.B. the facts below emerged free from
doubt. The difference of opinion of J.P. and
M.P. may be due to their lesser participation
in the old life, when contact between the Wuk-
chumni and the moiety-possessing tribes was
closer, and their greater participation in the
recent life with more contact with the non-
moietized Waksachi (Western Mono).

J.P. and M.P. claimed that they "didn't
know anything about some kinds of pošas [totems]

²³²Kroeber was informed that the hiauta (Yaudanchi) was
a clown (ibid.).

[P. 126 a] Wukchumni

769 ants might appear at any ceremony: Wukchumni,
648 Gawia, Yokod, Yaudanchi, Tachi, Wechihit,
Choinuk, Chunut, Telamni, Wolasi (all Yokuts);
also Waksachi, Patwisha, Entimbich, and Wobonuch,
the last two but recently and rarely (all Western Mono). (It is to be noted that the
[578] hostile Tachi and Nutunutu were omitted from
the list as given by J.P.; the list is corroborated,
of course, by other informants and much indirect evidence.)

When, in 1819, Estudillo traveled through Yokuts territory, he found members of the following tribes in attendance at a mourning ceremony at Chischa, a group neighboring to or in Wukchumni territory:⁷⁷⁶ Choinuk (whose "captain and greater number of inhabitants ... were at Chischa 8 leagues away"), Apalame (in foothills but exact locality uncertain), the Nutunutu, and the Telamni (of whom only 14 old women and 9 old men had remained at home). (The Chunut, however, and some Wowol had gone south to attend a similar ceremony at Buena Vista rancheria in the southern end of the valley.) Undoubtedly representatives of other tribes were there of whom Estudillo naturally remained unaware since this was the first entrada into the Central Pothill area.

769 The organization and administration of the
624 ceremony lay in the hands of one or two officials
571 who functioned only on such occasions, the yate "i" or "dance managers." Not all informants agree whether this was a regular official or not; perhaps only larger tribes had need of them. They were the "bosses" of the winatums who, both male and female, were worked to the utmost in their responsibility of providing shelter, water, firewood and, above all, sufficient food for the crowds. Around the
[47] assembly space were erected long shades, with back screens if needed, under which the visitors camped in tribal clusters. Theoretically the reciprocants⁷⁷⁷ were camped opposite the hosts, the other visitors at each end; informants were indefinite as to how far this plan was followed. In the families of the winatums all members helped: the older winatums saw that there was sufficient food and generally directed activities, while their sons supplied wood and water and carried messages, and their wives and daughters prepared and cooked food. The visiting winatums, particularly those of the reciprocants, helped also, but the hosts paid for their services just as they paid their own winatums. The preparation and organization
175 of these affairs for a large tribe like the
769 Wukchumni were no mean task. Estudillo speaks of this at Chischa.⁷⁷⁸

⁷⁷⁶Gayton, Estudillo, 73-75.

⁷⁷⁷Ceremonial or "washing" reciprocant tribe, not the financial reciprocants.

⁷⁷⁸Gayton, Estudillo, 74.

[P. 1486] Choinimni

524

Women's dice game.--This was played as by the Wukchumni (see Pt. I). In scoring, two or seven face sides up counted 1.

Hand game.--The hiding game was played by shuffling two sticks, one of which was marked, behind the back; apparently no blanket or other covering was used. The marked stick was guessed for. This was a man's game.

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Football.--A ball of polished stone was propelled off the tip of the foot toward goal posts some two hundred yards apart. This was a very rough game with much pushing and shoving, perhaps like that disapproved of by J.P. (Wukchumni-Patwisha informant).

Shinny.--This was played with a wooden ball and a stick with curved end. It was said to be played roughly, usually by youths fourteen to twenty years of age.¹⁶

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Officials

622

The chief (di'ya) had powers similar to those of chiefs elsewhere; he sanctioned or rejected personal projects that affected the community, such as mourning ceremonies, building a sweat house, or moving out to campsites.¹⁷ At Kulušao, the Tokelyuwich chief was Wato'ki, and the Nutuwich chief was A'hač. Following on Watoki came Gu'jam (John Hughes), and after Ahač, whose son had died, another Nutuwich named Toku'yan (Hammond Bill). After Gujam's death, his sister acted as chief in a casual way; and since Tokuyan's death there has been no Choinimni chief, although his son is alive and working at Bill Hancock's (1927). P.D.W. and others have asked him to function as chief, but he has refused to take on the expense and responsibility, which would consist largely in directing the aberrant funeral rites carried on in private.

624

Each chief had his own winatum (messenger). P.D.W. was Ahač's messenger (Ahač:n winatum); both his parents had been Nutuwich winatums. The Choinimni "followed the father in everything" i.e., in moiety, totem, and official positions, but not necessarily in professions such as doctoring. The Tokelyuwich messenger for Watoki was named Kuču'i. When traveling, a messenger carried a tall walking stick, which was sometimes painted red. He did not carry any beaded or knotted cord, or other mnemonic device to show the number of days before an assembly. He built public fires, got wood, food, and water for ceremonial gatherings, and was paid for all his services.

[611]

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¹⁶Ibid., 18-20.

¹⁷Jeff Mayfield's description of the chief's responsibilities and of the manner in which chiefs were selected and retained their positions is in accordance with my data from the Choinimni and other Yokuts (ibid., 28).

[P. 149 a] Choinimni

624

An official speaker was called di'e'le; magpie was his totem. This official is obviously identical with the Chumut pine'ti. He was a kind of "consulting attorney" or go-between; if persons had a proposition to lay before the chief, they would consult the di'e'le, who would report to the chief. There was such an official at Kulushao when P.D.W. was a boy, but P.D.W. cannot remember his name.

Moieties

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The moieties Tokelyuwich and Nutuwich divided the Choinimni into groups which functioned reciprocally at the mourning ceremony. All attempts to get information on the relation of the lineage to the moiety and to the nature of totems resulted in confused mutual misunderstanding. The following "animals" were readily assigned to one or the other moiety by P.D.W. He thought anybody could eat any of them so far as moiety regulation was concerned. He did not recognize a description of "first fruits" eating by either moiety.

[613]

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Tokelyuwich, west

to'h:l: eagle
naho'o: grizzly bear
iwe y:t: long tail cat¹⁸
hote: buzzard
ka nkas: crow
o'i'o'i': roadrunner
hu'au: coyote
hu'ahet: weasel
l:'m:k: falcon ("bullet hawk")
di'kwi l'ts: fisher (or martin)
ta't'ai: mudhen¹⁹
la'la: goose
oi'k: blackbird
ma'o: tree (grey?) squirrel
hoi: deer
ki s:n: "red-bell" seeds²⁰

Nutuwich, east

wets: condor
tono'hop: black bear
wehu s:t: cougar
ho toi: raven
upye'i: dove
to'hol: wildcat
so'hap: "chicken" hawk
te p:s: beaver
so'ho: kingfisher
wa'twat: duck
s'i:l: ground squirrel
soi'yal: antelope
o'oc: magpie
ti p:n: acorns

¹⁸Undoubtedly the large or mountain coyote called iweyot, colloquially known as wolf.

¹⁹P.D.W. recognized the "pun" on Tachi and said, "Those people lived in the water too" but the "words were not the same."

²⁰Calendrinia.

[P. 164 a] Kechayi

622 Čo 'ket, Nutuwich, and his wife, Č:ink: 'iwat, Tokelyuwich, are the only other chiefly persons E.M. recalls.

624 Another official, who made announcements and managed festivities and ceremonies, was the yate 'ič (talker or manager). He seems to have been a superwinatum, serving as a go-between for the chief and people; the chief addressed the people directly only when the yate 'ič was absent. At gatherings such as the chief's party, the yate 'ič "prayed" before each meal, saying, "Come close to the table [sic], we are going to have a good feast. When this supper is over, we will play and have a good time."

The only Kechayi manager whom E.M. remembers by name was Ko 'čon, a Nutuwich; one of the Pošgisa was E'uki 'yi. The office was paternally inherited, but moiety affiliation did not affect its functions.

The winatum "ran errands for the chief," gathered wood for public fires, carried messages. He was paid for his services. The position was inherited in the male line, but not all sons of a winatum had to function as such. The family chose one or more of its sons to take up the work, but if a lad were incompetent or unwilling, he did not have to undertake it.

Moieties

616 The classification of animals, birds, and some vegetable foods as Tokelyuwich and Nutuwich is given below. The informant was certain that no natural phenomena such as thunder, rain, or even land, sky, and water, were classified in this way. These were asked about indirectly, and also more directly, along with animals and plant names. Most of the items below were given voluntarily in response to a general question.

825

Tokelyuwich

to 'x:l: eagle
pu 'nal: hawk (Swainson ?)²⁷
upla 'li: dove
a 'luwut: crow
ho 'toi: raven²⁸
u 'i'ui: roadrunner
wa 'twat: duck
bučō nhal: redwing blackbird

Nutuwich

po 'hiyon: Cooper's hawk
ya 'y:l: falcon²⁹
ho 'its: buzzard
hi 'hi' na: horned owl
so 'tot: white owl
'o 'č'ōč: magpie
hu 'nnul: quail
tai 'tai': blue jay

²⁷Light, with black shoulders and head.

²⁸Younger brother of Cooper's hawk.

²⁹Larger than a 'luwut.

[P. 168 q] Kechayi

586

Divorce was usually caused by sterility, though the usual practice was for the man to have a child by another woman; "he didn't bother to leave his wife unless he disliked her." When a man left his wife, he took only his personal belongings and not more than one horse, if he possessed any. When a couple separated, the parents-in-law usually remained good friends and did not return any gifts which had been exchanged at betrothal.

Death

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[624]

When a death was imminent, a winatum was sent to notify relatives on both sides of the person's family. Kin beyond the degree of first cousin were not usually notified, E.M. thinks, but this depended on how friendly a relative had been with the deceased. A daughter washed and dressed the corpse; if there were no capable daughter, the mother would. This was regardless of the sex of the deceased. The corpse was laid on a pallet or deerskins on the floor, and the mourners all marched around it as doleful songs were sung by the professional corpse-handlers (šowe' 'š). This performance was kept up as continuously as possible for two days.

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The corpse-handlers had prepared the cremation fire and carried the corpse to it. Everyone came, the mourners sitting near by wailing, the onlookers joining in. After two days the corpse-handlers gathered up the bones in a basket and buried them. The basket was a special, well-made, "pretty" one of conical shape called ponik. Who made or supplied this E.M. did not know. The corpse-handlers were paid for their services.

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The period of mourning was indefinite. A widow cut off her hair, stayed quietly near her home until the large mourning ceremony was made, a period of one or two years.

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The corpse-handlers were not transvestites, so far as E.M. knows. She stated that her paternal grandmother's sister, Woji'let, was a normal woman, but followed this profession. She thinks that these people "grew up that way," i.e., with a desire "to get rid of the dead." They had no special totemic or dream helper, and "worked" for either moiety.

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After death the spirit of the deceased went north until it came to a river. If it crossed this successfully, it went up; if it failed, it went down.

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An unusual burial---To illustrate an exceptional burial E.M. told the following anecdote which was related to her by Šaha'ma, an old Pošgisa man.

This old man had gone out to help the women with seed-gathering. They went toward Table Mountain. Two strange boys were around hunting and, high on the cliffs of the mountain,

[P. 174 a] Kechayi

- 796
276 around" before falling unconscious. Some persons needed two or three basketfuls to achieve narcosis. As each person fell he was carried into the shade. Winatums watched them to see that they did not injure themselves as they grew active. Toward morning the drinkers began to mumble, they made grabbing motions with their hands, they would not keep still. They saw sickness on people and cured it by blowing. The effects wore off in about one week, [755] but all participants remained on an acorn soup (liman) diet for twelve days. [262] Jimsonweed as an anaesthetic was not known [557] to E.M.

Annual Mourning Ceremony

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[624] The chief set the date for this ceremony (luni'sa) twelve days before it was to take place. His winatum went around to announce it, particularly to notify the reciprocal tribe (gi'i) which, for the Kechayi, was always the Posgisa. E.M. recalls her father supervising the ceremonies, although he was Nutuwich; the moieties combined in this affair, which was primarily tribal. The Choinimni were gi'i for the Gashowu (but see Choinimni account). [616]

The ceremonial activities lasted for six days. Every morning and evening the mourners went outside the village to weep, accompanied by singers brought by the Posgisa. The mourners had with them the effigy dolls (ta'owid'ano'sa) which had been made some time previously.

The order of rituals was as elsewhere in the San Joaquin Valley: Huhuna (guksail), Shamans' Contest, crying, washing, and celebration.

The Huhuna Dancer, who performed on the third day, is called Gugu'sia by the Kechayi. Huhuna E.M. "had heard of but never saw"; she obviously did not know they were identical.

- [637] Huhuna.--This character [Gugusia] was dressed in a long feather-covered garment. A net covered his face and head, on which, over his eyes, were fastened abalone-shell discs. He carried a stick in each hand. By means of his supernatural power he found hidden money.

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789 He came into the dance space, circled about. To one side a shaman was sitting. As Gugusia approached him he "shot" with "airshot" by banging a tray on the ground. His winatum carried the unconscious Gugusia to one side. Everyone wept, and the women present filed past the prostrate form throwing money and seeds over it. Then the shaman revived Gugusia.

E.M. thinks that both dancer and doctor in this performance were from the reciprocal tribe, but that the mourners paid them. She remembers one Gashowu man, Cuku'ya, a Tokelyuwich, who did this dance.

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756 Shamans' Contest.--For some reason E.M. could not or would not describe this coherently. The reticence may have been due to the fact

[P. 198 a] chuckchausi

76/ immediately killed. If a hen crows (sic), a woman is dying.

825 A man who was bitten by a rattlesnake and recovered was able to stop excessive thunder and lightning by merely going out and shouting at it to cease. (This was, apparently, a specific incident known to J.R., but the familiar yet elusive connection between rattlesnakes and lightning, known from other Yokuts, persists. -- A.H.G.)

775 Afterworld---The dead stayed in the grave three nights, said C.D. Then its soul or shade went west (hoxim) and never returned (sic).

[753] Spirits of the dead caused sickness, sometimes merely a nose bleed, other times fatal illness. It was necessary to get a shaman to cure ghost-sickness.

775 L.W.'s mother (tribe?) said her people thought the dead turned into birds and animals. 825 (Perhaps a misunderstanding of the transformation of the people of the prehuman era into birds and animals ? -- A.H.G.)

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Officials

622 There was but one captain (chief) to a village, said both J.R. and M. "Whenever there is a big time he calls people around." The captain, said M., decided when the Mourning Ceremony was to be held, or any other feast or ceremony, but he had no other function. She maintained that the captain himself went about from one village to another to tell them his plans: he would come down here, then go up to Ahwanee, and so on. No one else went for him. However, this statement seems in doubt, particularly as J.R. accurately described the usual Yokuts official messenger and his duties.

The following chiefs were named by J.R. Sloknič was the Chukchansi chief at Aplau. His younger brother was his assistant chief. Sloknič was already an old man when J.R. was about fifteen years of age. Dawil was the Chukchansi chief at Picayune. Pinto Joe, whose Indian name was not known, was another Chukchansi captain. J.R. thinks he may have been "some relation" to Sloknič. Sloknič had a son, but he was not mentioned as a subsequent chief.

624 Each captain had an official messenger, called wina'tum. This man was selected by the captain and retained his office for life. (Not a totemic, family-inherited position, apparently. -- A.H.G.) This informant, J.R., stressed the messenger's functions at the time of the Mourning Ceremony.

He would take news down there to Picayune and tell the people how many days it would be till the fandango, or something. When they came up here, everything would be ready for the big time. All that man does is "taking news from here down there, give them orders to be

EP. 198 b] Chuckchansi

here that [specified] day. Maybe in two or three days." The messenger did not stay down there; he came back the same day. He could not say that the event was to be a mourning ceremony (or whatever it was to be) but just told the people to be there at the proper time. The captain told them what it was to be when they got there, maybe that night.¹³⁰ Nevertheless, people usually found out before they came what it was they were going to. "Everybody finds out some way, some place. Then they commence talking about it all over."

Moiety and Totemic Animals

616 The Chukchansi were divided into two groups, Eagle and Coyote, said J.R.: they are not the same kind, but two kinds, like the French and the Dutch. Later he said, "It is just like white man's parties, Democrat and Republican, just two names of it. That's all." Some Chukchansi were of one moiety, some of the other. So were the people at Friant (Gashowu). This division regulated marriage: an Eagle man had to marry a Coyote woman, and vice versa. Today this regulation is not always followed. (N.W. alone maintained that persons with the same totem could marry.) Children belonged to their father's moiety, although matrilineal residence prevailed the first years of marriage. If a woman had more than one husband, the children followed their biological father's moiety.

616 The two moieties had the usual Yokuts names, Nutuwus and Toxilewis, each with its symbolic or totemic animals. These animals were limited to four: coyote, bluejay, eagle, and bear. ("There is one woman called 'Skunk'", said N.W., "but that is a nickname because she quarrels all the time. It is not like a person having Bear or Eagle.") Two animals were assigned to each division and both were paternally inherited by a member of that division. Said N.W., "It is like children having the father's name the white way." These animals are not the ones people dream about; they could dream about any others [including these?--A.H.G.]

[552] The moiety name Nutuwus meant mountainward, uphill, or upstream; Toxilewis meant valleyward, downhill, or downstream. There was disagreement between informants as to the animals assigned to each division, thus:

¹³⁰It is possible that there was some misunderstanding between the informant, interpreter, and recorder. That is, just possibly J.R. meant that the people in the invited tribe did not get the details of the information from the messenger but from their own captain, who would announce it that evening, an interpretation in accord with Yokuts practice. Also in accord with Yokuts practice would be the repetitious announcement by the host captain at the time the guests arrived. -- A.H.G.

[P. 203 a] Chukchansi

Dancing

535 No specific dance performance was described, but J.R. gave a few generalities. Dancing groups were usually composed of four dancers and an accompanist singer. The dancers wore a loincloth [breechcloth?], feathers around the neck [sic], and something around the head "that looked kind of funny." They might have specks of white paint on their faces, or sometimes red paint obtained from the Eastern Mono. Not all the dancers used red paint. Often the Miwok used it when they came over for a dance.

The dance steps were standardized. J.R. characterized those of the Chukchansi and the Yokuts of the San Joaquin River region as being done with an erect posture, immobile head, and heavy stamping step [the familiar Yokuts "piston rod" step]. The Miwok, he said, leaned forward, moved back and forth with a wiggling step, keeping the feet a little apart. (Miss Thrall suggests that this may have resembled a quick "grapevine" step.) There was a different movement for each song.

[534] The singer wore no paint nor feathers. His only instrument was the split elderwood clapper, [533] about ten inches long. This was "waved up and down to make it crack while he was singing." The singer sang, then paused for an interval of rest.

GHOST DANCE OF 1870

764 There were three chiefs at Wasamo (near Ahwahnee).¹⁴¹ This was where J.R.'s family 344 "lived and died." There was a large burying ground there. Today (?) there is still a big round [dance] house which the three captains, assisted by a white man, built. The white man contributed some food for the builders.

622 When the chiefs wanted something done, they called their people to a big assembly fire. 796 There were many people. If a festivity was planned, the chiefs said when it was to be, how long it was to last, and what singers, dancers, and guests should be told to come. Men were dispatched to get deer for food.

796 This kind of big time lasted about one week. The hosts provided the food. In the evening three or four men would dance, and sometimes as many women. Guests from other places also performed; each dance was said to be different. There were certain men (dance managers) who went about giving instructions; the managers went in groups of three or four.

[624] During the day games were enjoyed: footraces, [526] football, hoop and pole played by the women, and the hand game by both sexes.

¹⁴¹The location of Wasamo is uncertain. J.R., in this connection said "near Ahwahnee": "they were living at Ahwahnee, that is where they had that dance."

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and passed to a brother or son of the deceased chief. To which relative it went depended wholly upon the capacities of the possible successor. Differences of opinion between S.O. and B.O. may actually represent differences in Yokuts and Western Mono culture rather than discrepancies of interpretation of their culture. S.O. claimed that, if the male line of a chiefly lineage were exhausted so that there were neither sons, brothers, nor paternal nephews of the chief to replace him, his daughter would function as chief until her oldest son could take her place. S.O. said this was possible "because everybody in the chief's family was just like the chief (i.e., not only called *tin'a* but respected as such). However, B.O. stated that the office was never filled by a woman "because only a chief was called 'chief' although all members of the family had Eagle as *ibuk* [totem]." B.O. continued to say that, if there were no male heirs in the chief's or his brother's lines (though there might be through daughters), the men of the village would convene, select a man they believed suitable, make up a sum of money for him, and offer him the position. A man so chosen was under no obligation to accept. No positive genealogical or anecdotal evidence was obtainable to support either point of view.

The succession of chiefs at Tušao was as follows: Pa'o'ič (ca. 1870), Waksachi, then his son Koto'b:č (Bill Tyner), and then the latter's son, Si'wa (Tom Tyner), still living in 1927. Contemporaneously there was a Michahai chief, the father of Čite'k, whose son did not succeed him but whose grandson did; this was Wo'tuš (Tom Bacon, also known as Sipu'ja).

The succession at the Waksachi village of Čitatu is shown in an already published genealogy.¹⁶⁶ The order is from Wa'nuk to his son Čo'o'po. Then to two of the latter's sons, first Ča'muč, then Wa'k'it, neither of whom seems to have had children. A third son of Čo'opo, Pala'ha (the informant B.O.), was not mature enough at the time to assume the responsibilities of office. Consequently his parallel cousin on the paternal side, He'lčap, was selected. When He'lčap was approaching death he wanted his son, Claude Osborn, to follow him as chief. But others wanted the office to return to the direct chiefly line, specifically to Palaha who was then a middle-aged man. The age, dignity, and fine character of Palaha were the assets which determined him as chief in the minds not only of the remaining Waksachi but also of the neighboring tribes. In 1927 a few intimates of Claude stubbornly insisted verbally on his chieftancy; as a person of sound character, he probably obtained it upon Palaha's enfeeblement or death.

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The secondary chiefs (*tuye'yi*, Michahai; the Waksachi were said to have no special term)

¹⁶⁶ Gayton, Yokuts-Mono Chiefs and Shamans, 419.

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were "always picked out by the tia'a" (S.O.). Their only function was to assist as financial sponsors of mourning ceremonies or other celebrations for which much money was to be expended. The chief supplied the major sum and the secondary chiefs made up any deficit. The secondary chiefs at Tušao appointed by Kotob:č (Bill Tyner) were Halo pča (Coyote Jim, a shaman), Šo'o'k (Bob ----), and Hai'kao (the informant S.O.). The money they contributed was given to the chief, who had it distributed among the reciprocal "washers" at the mourning ceremonies.

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The winatum (na'tinab, Waksachi) had the same duties among Michahai and Waksachi as among the Yokuts tribes. The Waksachi held that Roadrunner (o'i'o'i') was the totemic symbol of the winatum lineage, but admitted Dove (he'wi) as a secondary or equivalent totem. This means that a Waksachi messenger, while regarding Roadrunner as his patrilineally inherited totem, would yet not kill nor eat a dove, and might even say, "Dove is my ibuk," whereas his children would not necessarily respect Dove unless they took up a winatum's office.

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The winatum received payment for all his services, both from the sender and receiver of a message. When going about to announce a mourning ceremony he carried a cane which, according to S.O., was undecorated and about eight feet long.

Lineage Totems

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The animal associated with a family line, patrilineally inherited and venerated, was called in Michahai poša, in Waksachi, ibuk. The reciprocal word pošam, for the person who had the poša was frequently on S.O.'s lips. In

[text continued on top of p. 231b]

<u>Person</u>	<u>Tribe</u>
Kilmišet, winatum	Michahai
Tšao:t	Waksachi
Ya'ailat	Entimbich (?)
Takač, chief	Entimbich
Wotuš	(?)
Hawanuč	Wukchumni
Mogus	Entimbich
Ceči	Entimbich
"Buffalo Bill," messenger	Wobonuch
Kučum	Choinimni
Hučač	(?)
Waja, I	Wobonuch
Kuijal	(?)
Wilolohi	Wobonuch
Supana	Wobonuch
Upe'ač	Entimbich (?)
Etak	Waksachi
Halopča	Waksachi
Palaha	Waksachi
Haipuš, singer	Wobonuch
Pušilin, shaman	Chukaimina

[list continued on middle of p. 231b]

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"Little Mourning Ceremony"---This rite (wi'xi luni'sa) marked the cessation of mourning. When a mourner felt that he had observed the full restrictions sufficiently long, he told his chief that he wished to end them. The chief usually agreed, merely asking the mourner if he had funds for the expenses entailed. A day was set for the ritual, usually six days ahead, and the chief's winatum was sent to notify the persons who should come to do the ritual washing. The washer(s) was always a certain person, for the function was reciprocal between certain families of differing tribes.¹⁷⁷ The concept is one met before in connection with the Wukchumni, but oddly S.O. did not recognize the term gu'1, used by them (and by B.O.), saying he "had never heard the word." How this reciprocal relationship came to be established he was unable to say: it had always been so. Both B.O. and S.O. mentioned the Wukchumni as properly reciprocal to the Waksachi, and said that the Entimbich also functioned in this capacity for both Michahai and Waksachi.

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When the winatum arrived at the village of the washers, he went directly to the chief, who took his cane (carried only when announcing a mourning ritual) and gave him food. The message was then given to the chief, who in turn sent his own winatum to get the persons wanted (washers). The washers and their companions decided upon what day they would start for the ritual. When the winatum was ready to depart, the chief paid him a small sum (roughly the equivalent of 50 to 75 cents) and gave him some little seed cakes and other tidbits of food to take home (for himself). The winatum also received back his cane which the chief had taken from him, but in so doing, he paid the chief a trifle (about 25 cents). Then he left and, when he reached home, he reported to his chief "and told the people to get ready."

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When the washers came, they were accompanied by their chief, a winatum, and any members of their family or friends who cared to come. This group was encamped in shelters erected for them and fed throughout the entire visit. Professional singers (ahe'nič) secured by the local chief came to the fire in the assembly space in the early morning and sang mourning songs. They used no accompaniment. There might be two to four of these, and eventually they received pay.

During the day the local chief would give a speech, saying why people were assembled, that So-and-So had been mourning for a dead person, but that his mourning was now to cease. The bereaved person cried in response, and often some of his family too. These mourners then walked over to pay the singers; men went

¹⁷⁷S.O. offered as an example his nephew ("Tom Tyner and all his family"), who always has a Wukchumni of Falcon lineage to wash him [sic] when mourning. The Wukchumni was always (?) To'pino (Jim Britches).

[P. 252 a] Wagon Mono NS 25

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within the mourning group does not represent an adjustment to changed conditions, but "was often done in the old days too when people hadn't enough money saved up to pay the regular washers," as B.O. said.

GHOST DANCE OF 1870

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[777]
The reports of three informants were combined in another paper¹⁹⁹ to give a coherent picture of the great dance in Eshom Valley. S.O.'s contribution to that synthesis follows; his account makes it appear that the Eshom Valley affair occurred early in the Ghost Dance diffusion. Actually, a year or perhaps more elapsed between the introduction of the movement via the Northfork Mono and its culmination in the great dance in Eshom Valley.

The Ghost Dance was called the "round dance" (ka man soi w.ñ) by Michahai and Waksachi. The term "war dance," used by local white settlers and taken over by the Indians when speaking English, was due, so S.O. said, to the fact that "the Paiutes danced a war dance and the white folks thought this was the same thing."

W
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[177]
The dance and its doctrine were introduced to the Michahai-Waksachi by a group of ten or twelve Wobonuch singers led by a man named Ta pumañi. (The only one living in 1926 was Ya 'ki, who would not be an informant.) They came to an Entimbich village, Kičeyu (Dunlap) and told the chief, Ta kañ (Little George) and his brother, Košo wi, a powerful doctor, that they wanted to have an assemblage. The Eshom Valley site was chosen, perhaps because of its rather central yet secluded locality. The two Entimbich chiefs acted as sponsors although the area belonged to the Waksachi. Messengers were sent to the Patwisha, Wukchumni, Gawis, Yokod, Telamni, Michahai, Chukaimina, and probably other tribes. From three to five hundred people responded, many of them from the more distant Kings River, Tulare Lake, and Southern Valley tribes.

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The Eshom Valley gathering most impressed S.O. because of its numbers and the unflagging energy exhibited. Never before nor after did such an affair take place. As usual, winatums looked after the food supply, not necessarily obtaining it themselves but seeing that hunters were dispatched and that their own women relatives kept up with their cooking. In spite of this, hardships resulted from lack of food.

On the evening of the day appointed for the dance the chief Takañ addressed the multitude. He explained why the meeting had been called: that certain men had come with important news, and they wished to teach all these people their new songs and dances. Then Tapunañi spoke somewhat as follows:

¹⁹⁹Gayton, Ghost Dance of 1870, 68-72.

chief was accorded a certain precedence. It is possible that the head of every tribe was always of this division, and that the polarity of authority was more of a formal or ceremonial nature, a half-conscious reflection of the social bifurcation. At any rate, all historical and biographic accounts mention only one chief for each group. 616
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Another position that was hereditary was that of the *winatum*, the messenger or herald. In a typical village the chief was supposed to have his house in the middle, a *winatum* at each end. When one of these heralds was sent to announce a festival he was paid by the invited guests. A chief in need of shell money for any purpose might send his *winatum* to chiefs elsewhere. These would gather their tribes, who would contribute what they thought proper to the occasion. 624
[367]
[651]

Two other offices were, if not hereditary, at least held for life. One of these was the clown, Yaudanchi *hianta*, Yauelmani *hiletits*, Tachi *hohotich*, whose business it was to mock sacred ceremonies, speak contradictorily, be indecent, and act nonsensically. The *tongochim* or *tunosim* were the transvestite sexual pervers recognized by all North American tribes. Among the Yokuts they possessed one unusual privilege and obligation: they alone handled corpses and prepared the dead for burial or cremation, but were entitled to keep for themselves any part of the property placed with the body. Both at the immediate and the annual mourning ceremonies they conducted the singing and led in the dancing. It is clear, once the character of these persons' peculiarity is understood, that they were not delegated to their status, but entered it, from childhood on, by choice or in response to an irresistible call of their natures. 624
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WAR.

Very little is known of Yokuts warfare. The tribes seem generally to have acted as units when conflicts arose. This should have given them some advantage of solidarity and numbers over most of their neighbors; but there is nothing to show that they were specially feared. Conflicts between tribes were apparently about as frequent as with aliens; and with many of their neighbors they were on friendly and even intimate terms. The Yokuts were evidently on the whole a peaceable people. 648

It has been said that they did not scalp. As an absolute statement, this is surely incorrect, for a myth tells how the prairie falcon after a battle hung the hair of his slain foes on trees, where it can be seen to-day as moss. But this is certainly a strange use to which to put trophies, and one arguing a lack of the usual Indian sense of such matters. There also appears to be no record of any Yokuts 727
[773]

101 foodstuffs and minerals well within their recognized bound-
131 aries.

Each Yokuts tribe was ruled by a Chief. He lived at the principal, or head village. In Yowlumne territory this was 622
361 *Woiilu*, on Reeder Hill, where now stands the Santa Fe passenger depot in Bakersfield. The next important Yowlumne village, *Tesinliu*, was located on the north bank of Kern River about three miles above the Discovery Well of the Kern River Oilfield. The third most important village was on the south side of Kern River just above the old Rio Bravo Rancho, now known as the Olecese place. The chiefs at the two upstream villages were responsible to the head chief at Reeder Hill.

Yokuts villages were almost always located on well traveled trails and sometimes at a point where two trails crossed. Important villages on rivers were often at a ford, or easy crossing, where a trail following the hills crossed another following the river. This was true of the village on Reeder Hill and the one between the Rio Bravo Rancho and the mouth of Cottonwood Creek.

624 The chiefs of these villages placed a *Winatun*, or private
576 secretary, at a point where trails entered the village. It was the responsibility of the *Winatun* to meet all approaching travelers, to learn who they were, what was their business, and, if possible, to give them what information was necessary and send them on their way. If the traveler was not so easily disposed of, it was then the duty of the *Winatun* to conduct him to the chief. After the interview it was the duty of the *Winatun* to conduct the traveler to the edge of the village and bid him goodbye.

This practice is still carried on at the camps or villages of remaining Yokuts Indians. After having visited Indian camps and having gathered data from aged Indians for more than twenty-five years, this writer finds this feature one of the most pleasing Yokuts characteristics. It makes a visitor feel welcome to have someone appear and pass the time of day as he drives his car up to an Indian door. If he has time, the young man who is elected as a greeting committee of one will open any gates that are closed.

796 The Yowlumne periodically performed a ceremony that
574 can be classed as a snake dance. Live rattlesnakes were used and were handled by snake doctors, or special medicine men. Yokuts came to this dance from neighboring tribes as far away

487 Her verbatim account of such trade is reproduced in Chapter
439 XIII near the end of this volume.

Ichow, a full-blood *Wukchumne*, quoted freely in this work, stated: "Some of our men go to coast to trade, go over the mountains to Owens Lake to trade. They go across to coast by where Coalinga is now. They go across the mountains from Tale River across Kern River where white people built that Jordan Trail. My grandpa, *Chechin* (Che'-chin), told me about that. His father used to trade at them places. From here he take deer skins, antelope skins, elk skins, *kadis* (kay'-dis) [steatite], *ahdit* [salt from saltgrass], and good baskets over to them Indians at Owens Lake. He bring back lots of fine *kots* [obsidian] to make good arrow point and some salt like white people use. He sell that kots and that salt here for our money and buy more things to trade."

The most interesting account I have been able to secure concerning Yokuts traders came from *Wahumchah*, one of the last two living full-blood *Yowlumne* Yokuts. For two generations back, his direct male ancestors were traders. His father was born at the *Yowlumne* village of *Woilu* on the site of present Bakersfield. He explained the position of traders in his tribe. Said *Wahumchah*, "My father told me he was born right where Bakersfield is now. His people had two villages there, one on each side river. One was on high knoll close by river. It was my father's business to trade and to run anywhere his
487 *Teah* (Te'-ah) [Chief] wanted him to go. He was *Winatun*
439 [Messenger]. Sometimes them people let fire go out in one
● 624 village. Then someone had to make new fire with two sticks.
372 Fire most always went out when it rained. Then everything was wet and it was hard to start new fire. Then my father would swim river and get fire from other village. If fire went out in other village he had swim across and take fire to them. That was his business.

[482] "When my father carried fire he put it on top his head. He
[481] put some ashes on piece buckskin. Then he put some red coals on ashes. He cover coals with ashes. Then he roll that buckskin up and tie it on top his head and swim across river. Sometimes them coals get pretty hot on his head. They burn him pretty bad. Most time he got his hair burned off top his head.
[551] So *Yowlumne* call my father *Oi'-oi*, Roadrunner, because in
773 them old timers' stories *Oioi* stole fire and carried it across the river just like my father did."

lower, or down stream limits of the village. It is explained that this was done in order that the bathing would not disturb the water of the stream which was used by the inhabitants of the village.

In many instances the *Winatun*, or messenger for the Headman, or Chief, lived near the sweat house. It was his business to meet strangers, or visitors, and escort them to the chief. A second *Winatun* lived on the main trail at the up-stream limits of the village. It is probable that the lower *Winatun* occupied the sweat house when he happened to be a man without a family. Women never entered the Yokuts sweat house.

It was due to the practice of sweating that measles and smallpox, as well as other fevers, took such heavy toll of the Indians not only in the San Joaquin Valley, but throughout the western United States. Fevers were apparently unknown to them. Their ordinary ailments were principally rheumatism and other infirmities due to cold and exposure. Pioneer settlers of the San Joaquin Valley have repeatedly described the death within a few weeks of almost entire tribes of Indians due to measles, or smallpox, when treated in the sweat house.

The sweat house was held in high esteem by all Indians. Why this should be the case has aroused the curiosity of many persons. When one considers the most important use to which it was put, this attitude on the part of the Indians is not strange. Most Indian hunting was done by stalking. Deer and other animals were killed with bow and arrow, often at a distance of less than forty feet. White deer hunters will appreciate the difficulty of approaching this close to a deer, even should the hunter be disguised by a deer head and horns and covered with a deer skin. It is readily appreciated that often at the distance of several hundred yards the deer will scent a hunter and take flight. The Indian also knew this. For this reason he was very careful about two or three things. His hunting equipment was always hung up where it would not be touched except when he was hunting. In this way it carried no scent.

Before going hunting the Indian entered the sweat house and bathed in the river. Taking his weapons, he proceeded to the game country with the knowledge that, for at least five or six hours, deer and other game would not be able to distinguish his scent. As this gave the sweat house a very practical and vital use, it is not strange that the Indians almost universally came to regard it as sacred.

abroad gathering foodstuffs, the Indians lived in crude shelters, or huts, more than they did in permanent houses.

When the salmon were running in the San Joaquin River the Yokuts migrated to that place. During the season when millions of wild ducks and geese entered the valley, the Yokuts were to be found about the sloughs and swamps snaring them and shooting them with their bows and arrows, gorging themselves upon the fresh meat, and drying much of it to be carried many miles across the plains to the permanent villages.

The arrangement of the village was not as haphazard as we might be led to suppose. There were some rules governing the arrangement of the camp. These rules might be likened to some of our town and city ordinances. The Headman, or Chief, of the tribe was likely to occupy the most desirable location. The sweat house, which has already been described in detail, was located down stream from the rest of the village. This was due to the fact that care was taken not to pollute the streams above the village. An Indian would be careful in wading across the stream above the village. Bathing and washing were generally done at or below the sweat house.

At least one writer, Steven Powers, and several pioneer whites, as well as aged Yokuts Indians, have stated that the plains and lake houses were built and arranged with almost military uniformity. When several houses stood near each other they were erected in a straight line which approximated a row of houses in a pioneer white town.

At every village several fires were kept going in the open, day and night. A hole several feet across and a foot or more in depth contained burning coals and cooking rocks. Into this fire pit was thrown all sorts of camp refuse. A pile of dry wood lay nearby. In at least some camps there were rules that the kitchen refuse and the offal from freshly killed game must be disposed of in this family fire-pit. Deer and large game was generally dressed in the field, the carcass being carried to the camp by the men who killed it. There it was taken in hand by the women.

In well organized tribes a stranger was not allowed to enter an Indian village unattended. At the lower and upper limits of the village were situated *Wisatus* (messengers) whose business it was to meet strangers and conduct them to the chief or head man and to run all sorts of errands for him.

159 There was a big brush shade around where they danced.
769 The company camped under this shade. It was a long shade. The place inside was about 100 steps across. There was a big fire in the middle. It was down by the creek west of the "Fish" Rice house a little way on the south side of the creek just south of where the roads cross now. The old cemetery was just north across the creek.

[624] The Winatun worked for the chief and told the people
[574] where to camp when they came. There were lots of tribes there. I remember people from the Tachi, Yokodo, Chunut, Kaweah, Choinok, Wolase, Wukchumne, Koyeti, Yaudanchi, Wuksahche, Nutunutu, Wowol and Telumne tribes.

The Winatun gave each people their grub when they came. They had some grub along, but the people at Sulawlahne had to give all of the meat and most of the rest of the grub. We bought cows to eat from "Fish" Rice. I remember that there were two cows hanging up at once. We had some deer meat, and antelope and elk too. Our hunters killed a lot during the week of the Lonewis, but we had to have lots of beef besides. This meat was to eat after the Lonewis was over.

[551] Pleas Work was there with his Indian Wife. She was a *Pahd-wishi*. Her name was *Haw'-nick* (Measuring Worm). She was a very pretty woman, but we were afraid of Pleas. He was a bad man. He killed lots of Indians. He only stayed two days. We liked it better after he left.

[302] Our *Chumlus* (Choom'-loos) had all of our clothes to put on us after we washed. My mother had painted her cheeks with black paint and had cut her hair off when my father died. We got the black paint [graphite] from a hill by the place you call Stokes Mountain. We burned it before we used it. We cried almost all of the time until the Lonewis. All [152] of the time after my father died we did not eat any meat until [262] after the Lonewis was over.

[551] My mother had paid our *Chumlus* the money for the clothes. Mother had not changed clothes since my father died. We had not spoken my father's name. After the Lonewis was over the *Chumlus* had to wash us and put our clean new clothes on us. Then we could all be happy again.

As soon as we camped, my mother began fixing the man to burn in the fire at the Lonewis. She had saved her money for a year and had bought a good suit of clothes at Mr. Sweet's store

159 she got out the fine baskets she had made to burn, and all of
769 father's things she had saved. Then she was ready for the Lonewis.

If some man lost a wife they fixed some clothes like a woman and burned it. If they lost a little boy or a girl they dressed it up like a boy or girl. For a baby they fixed it on a baby cradle and burned it. In the old days they made these people to burn out of tules and dressed them with beads and a man's breech clout or woman's skirt.

159 The morning of the second day the Teah sent his Win-
at'-un (messenger) to tell all the people to come together. He
769 talked to them for a long time. Then the people from each
624 tribe talked. They told about their dead people that they had been crying for. They told who they were and when they died. They told about how good the dead persons had been. By that time it was afternoon. They ate acorn mush and talked until about four o'clock. Then they all went back to their own shades and sat down.

Soon the Winatun came around to tell them to build their fires and get ready for the dancing and singing. He walked around the camp yelling this so everyone could hear. Then they all got ready. They built fires and got ready to dance all night.

The Winatun built a big fire in the middle of all the fires. It was made of dry oak and burned until the Lonewis was over. It was about twenty feet across. Some of the people carried wood for it almost all of the time.

159 At sundown everybody was ready. Nobody talked. Every-
769 thing was quiet. When we could just see *Ne'-waw Chi'-tus*,
[the evening star], Tepwuhtra, the Teah, stood up in front
[152] of his fire. We all watched him. He called in a loud voice, "*He'-ahm tahn'-hin* [we are ready]." In a little while everyone was crying. Then they began to dance.

Most of the people danced around their own fires. Some danced around the fireplace for a while. They were singing to the big fire where they were going to burn their baskets and things. Then they went back to their own fires.

Most of the people sat close around their own fires and cried. They would rock back and forth and cry for awhile. Then they would sing. After awhile they would get up and dance and some of the others would sit down and cry and sing.
[539] This was one of the songs they sang:

The *Winatun* made the fires for the doctors. They made seven fires, three in a row on each side and one in the middle. They then went to tell the Teah that everything was ready. Everyone could see this from their camp fires. 159
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Then the Teah called, "*He'-ahn tahn'-hin.*" The doctors came out in pairs and went to their fires. An Ahntru Doctor went to the middle fire. He came from the Teah camp. All were dressed in their feather skirts and feather headdress. All were painted and had their magic things along. Each one had *Chapet* (Chap'-peet), the Tripne flat basket tray.

Near the middle fire was a high pole set in the ground. It was as high as a house. On it were tied baskets, strings of beads and other rich things. They were for the dead people. Each doctor would sing his song and shake his rattle. Then he would swing his *Chapet* in the air and put it over first one shoulder and then the other while he was singing. Then he would slap it on the ground quickly. It made a loud noise. Some of the doctors could make some of the baskets fall from the pole with this noise. Only the Tripne Doctors could do this.

They sang this song:

Ha-lah!'-mo kah'-kah kah'-kah

(Repeated four times.) [539]

While they sang they danced to the center fire, stamping the ground with the same foot together and slapping the *Chapets* over their shoulders and against their sides.

The sun is just going down. They hold the *Chapets* up to the sun edgeways. Then they turn and dance back to their fires. One of the doctors slaps the *Chapet* on the ground and picks up something to shoot from his *Chapet*. Some get an arrow point, some a rock, some a bullet or something he can throw hard. He rubs it around the edge of his *Chapet* to make it Tripne.

They do not sing or talk while they do this. Everybody keeps quiet. They pass the *Chapet* around them at the waist and walk around their fire getting ready to fight. Then one slaps his *Chapet* on the ground and shoots at another doctor. Maybe the doctor falls down or he sits down. If he falls down he is dead [unconscious] and the *Winatuns* pick him up and carry him to his camp and he is done. He does not fight anymore. [He revives and watches the rest of the exhibition]. [624]

While the doctors were fighting, *Cuksa* (Cook'-sa) played around them. The Teah told him when to go in. The *Winatun*

dressed *Cuksa*.

159 dressed Cuksa. He wore an Ahntru headdress and skirt. In
769 one hand he carried *trah-wakt'-will*, the rattle, or clapper.

756 Cuksa sang and went around among the people. He made lots of fun doing like the Tripne Doctors did. At last the doctors began shooting at him. He fell down and his people carried him back to his camp. The doctors doctored him and he finally came alive again. The people gave him some money. He was only to make fun.

● [234] The middle doctor shot at those at the ends. When he killed one, the Winatun took him to the other side and the doctors there doctored him. If he was not hit bad they took [755] it out, an arrow point, acorn, rock or something. [these objects were introduced by sleight-of-hand] Then he went back to fight. If he was hit bad they took him to his camp.

There were a lot of helpers called *Chamum Maets* (Chah'-mum ma'-ets). They walked around those fighting. They yelled and disturbed the other side. Each doctor had his own Chamum Maets. They had to pay these helpers.

[237] The middle doctor spread *saw-nil* [eagle down] around him on the ground where the other doctors had been shooting at him. Then he brushed it up. The sawnil is Tripne and he took out of it [by sleight-of-hand] the things the other doctors had been shooting at him.

The fight was kept up until only one doctor was left. The outside people all paid the doctors while they were fighting, even after they had been hit. They gave them beads or arrows for pay. The doctors made lots of money that way. I saw all of this twice, once at *Sulawlahne* at the "Fish" Rice Ranch, south of Farmersville and once at Tule River Reservation.

159 The fourth night was when we came out with the clothes
769 stuffed like the dead people. About midnight they were brought out and carried around and pointed at the big fire for two or three hours. All of the time everyone was singing

[539]

Ah-hah'-nah
(We sing)
Yoo'-e uh'-la
(You are going to burn)
We-ah'-ah hah
(We are crying)
(Repeated indefinitely)

The people in each village were divided on two sides. They ¹⁵⁹ were divided in the family and in the village too. One side ⁵²⁴ played against the other in the games. ⁶¹⁶

One side was called *Tokelewits* (To-q'hell'-e-wits) and the other *Nutuwits* (Noo'-too-wits). The Tokelewits are on the west. At the big meetings they sit on the west. Their person is *Ahl'-wut*, the crow. The Nutuwits are on the east. At the big meetings they sit on the east. Their person is *Ki-yu*, the Coyote. I am a Tokelewits. My father was a Tokelewits. My mother was a Nutuwits. In all of the big games my father would be on my side. My mother would play against us.

When one side won at the Indian games their best players used to go away to play at other villages. Sometimes they ⁵²⁴ went a long distance. My mother told me that players from ⁴⁸⁴ *Nutuwutu* (Noo-too'-noo-too) at Laton came to play where she was born at *Chaw-lo'-win* where Alpaugh is now. They came carrying heavy burden baskets with fish and their game things, shinny-stick, football and other things.

When some players winning for Kiyu, or for Crow, came back to their village they would be carrying the baskets on their backs. The baskets would be empty of food. They would sing as loud as they could when they were a long way off:

A-na' a-na' a-nin'-a kow'-kow. ^[539]

(sung four times)

A-na'-na.

This song means like, "We won, we are here, we are hungry and we want to eat."

The people in their home village would be so glad they won. They would run out with something to eat and would throw presents in their empty baskets. If they lost, the players would sneak in quietly and go to bed.

My people played a game with bows and arrows and a ring ¹⁵⁷ called *waw'-poi-un*. They played on the smooth game ground ⁵²⁶ by the village. They used bows made of elderberry wood and wooden pointed arrows. We called the bow *tah-tip*, and the arrows *tu'-yose*. They were the same used for hunting around camp.

The *Win-at'-un* [messenger for the chief] rolled the ring ^[624] and the players stood at the side and shot at the ring as it went by. When he rolled the ring the Winatun called, "*He'-ahm takn'-hin*." He meant, "Are you ready?" or, "Here it comes."

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825 Among the North Fork Mono all chiefs were derived from the eagle moiety.* All members of the lineage venerated the totem, and were called by the term for chief, tiya or ti'a'a (Y), and poginape (WM), though only one member of a family at a time actually held the office.

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825 Similarly the position of messenger, winatum (Y), natinab (WM), concurred with the dove totem. Chiefs' and shamans' messengers were called by the same term and had the same totem. Roadrunner was also a messenger's totem among the Western Mono.

Two other officials, subchief and dance manager, appear in certain tribes but are not common to all Yokuts and Western Mono. Eagle was the subchief's totem. These men were usually distant male relatives of the acting chief. Raven was the dance manager's totem. A third official occurred among the Kechayi, Chunut, and perhaps other Yokuts: this was the official spokesman or intermediary between the chief and the people at large. Magpie is said to be his totem. It is indefinite whether this position was inherited or acquired through a dream helper. The evidence suggests the former. The North Fork Mono had the official speaker who was called yadohati. He did not inherit his position but was selected for his talent in speaking.¹⁰

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424 Other totemic lineages had certain activities that were exclusively their own; these were ceremonial rather than political. Men having rattlesnake as totem conducted the rattlesnake ceremony held each spring; persons of the bear totem gave a dance in the fall; the clowning performance at the rattlesnake ceremony was enacted by members of the coyote lineage. Other totems than these existed but apparently had no political or ceremonial offices connected with them.

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825 The differentiation between these totemic, inherited animals and those acquired during life as dream helpers must always be borne in mind. They were never confused in the native mind though often referred to by the same term, namely, dog.¹¹

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773 There were then, as political officials, chiefs, winatums, and, variably, subchiefs, dance managers, and spokesmen. According to native belief these officials are ancient institutions, in fact their original and only ones. South central Californian mythology is at least in part a rationalization of their present political and totemic system as it reflects a similar social order.

* Gifford, field notes, 1915. The buzzard moiety could obtain a chief only by buying a man for the position from the eagle moiety.

¹⁰ Gifford, field notes, 1915.

¹¹ Yokuts: pua, pu'na, paca, and teecac; Western Mono: puk, mapuk, and shuk.

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for the other or secondary chiefs, and for the head members of the families who were to give the ceremony in order to decide whether the time was still acceptable to all. If the chiefs delayed in calling this meeting and the families concerned wanted the matter discussed they could approach the chief and ask for a conference. The choice of a date depended mainly upon the financial condition of the bereaved families, and the amount of food available. The affair was usually held in the late summer after the village members had returned from their summer camps. Game and vegetable supplies were most abundant at that time. This was important as the host tribe was responsible for the subsistence of all visitors for a six-day period, as well as for giving and throwing away quantities of food.

Those who talked over the coming ceremony were first the chief or chiefs of the village and their brothers who had to share the expenses. The chiefs' winatums were always present. This small committee knew the whereabouts of absent members of their own village who were expected to be present, and how long it would take to notify them of the coming affair. At this meeting the date was set for about three weeks away. If men were off working and sent back a reply that they could not be ready by that date then the date would be shifted a few days to meet everyone's convenience as nearly as possible. Also other tribes asked, especially the one having the reciprocal part in the ceremony, might alter the date if they felt that they could not be ready at the time suggested.

After the first meeting held by the chiefs and bereaved families the local chief's winatum would call the other winatums, both men and women. The men he would send to chiefs of other villages and tribes that were to be invited, and to local people who were away and should be notified. The women winatums were told to look to the food supply and arrange for the cooking during the week of the ceremony. The most influential chief's winatum was the head one; it was he who usually bore the invitation to the reciprocating tribe. There was a winatum who acted as dance manager, and supervised the camp assembly and food provisions. The doctors' winatums set about getting other doctors for the dances.

The round of ceremonials during the year was always the same: the jimsonweed ceremony, the snake dance, and the first salmon ceremonial took place in the spring, and the mourning ceremony, first seed and acorn rites, and the bear dance occurred in the fall. Everyone knew approximately when these dances should be held but the specific time was always decided by the chief. The procedure was about as above. If snake doctors or bear dancers wished to hold their ceremonies they sent a notice to the chief. On the other hand, a chief who thought that the time for the ceremony was approaching and who had heard no report of the dancers' intentions, would send a winatum asking them to prepare for the ceremony. Thus among the Wukchumni (Y):²¹

My people all have bear poca on my father's side. The chief told them when to make the bear dance. This would be along toward Christmas time. The chief sent his winatum to my father's brother asking him when he would be ready. He said he'd be ready in twelve days. Then my uncle picked out some of us to dance with him.

²¹ Informant Mollie Lawrence; see Appendix.

MINOR OFFICIALS

624 The winatum has been frequently mentioned in the previous pages and his duties incidentally described. The activities of this official were all important in the execution of the chief's instructions and the organization of tribal functions. He was an essential unit in the social machinery. There seems to have been no variation in his duties or position among any of the Yokuts or Western Mono tribes. While the duties falling to a winatum might, from our point of view, put [554] him in the class of a servant, such was not the case. The office carried with it a certain prestige; informants of a winatum's lineage, as Sam Osborn or Mary Pohot, speak proudly of their parents' status just as do those of chiefly lineage. Though winatums were always paid for their services "they did not work to make money," and are never spoken of as rich men, as are chiefs and shamans. Whenever a winatum arrived at a house on an errand he had to be paid a small sum, usually the equivalent of ten to twenty-five cents, unless he had come from a distance. A chief paid his own winatum for every service rendered, as well as those who came to him bearing news from another tribe or village. The paying of winatums was not standardized: the chief or any other person making use of a winatum gave him what both considered a fair amount according to the employer's financial status.

624 The position of subchief and his functions are of an indefinite sort.
171 Foothill Yokuts and Western Mono of Kings river had this official; Yokuts of the plains and upper San Joaquin river apparently did not. Among the Yokuts the subchief was called tuye'i. The Western Mono had no special name for this office which was filled by the real chief's brothers. The Wukchumni (Y) and Yandanchi (Y) tuye'i was described as follows:⁴²

The tuye'i was a kind of second chief. The position went in families, and both sexes were called tuye'i just as all in the chief's family were called tia'a. There were usually four to six tuye'i in a tribe. When a mourning ceremony was to be held, and the chief was arranging financial affairs so as to cover the expenses, the subchiefs put up enough money to cover any deficit that might occur. Subchiefs who were about fifteen years of age or over contributed. If the chief were away or unable to attend to his part in a ceremony, the tuye'i took his place: they were the first to start eating at meals, made his speech, and also any decisions

⁴² Informant, Sam Garfield.

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that were called for. On the evening of the fifth day of the annual mourning ceremony the subchiefs gave a supper to the chief. Money, baskets, and blankets which had previously been given them by the chief were returned to him at this time.

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A Yaudanchi informant said:

"The tuye'l helped the tia'a at the mourning ceremony. If the tia'a put up five dollars the tuye'l put up three. If the tia'a had no money these men had to put up the rest."⁴⁰

The Wobonuch (WM) regarded the brothers of an active chief as sub- or secondary chiefs. They had no special term for these men, whose functions were as among the Yokuts.

Both Chunut and Tachi informants denied the existence of this official in their tribe or vicinity."

Some tribes had an official who took charge of the camp and ritual organization at large fandangos. He is called in English the "dance manager"; he was a kind of master of ceremonies. The Yokuts called this man the yate'ite. The Kechayi (Y) had the official and describe him as follows:⁴¹

The yate'ite was a kind of winatum. He talked for the tiya and he worked at arranging meals. He made all announcements for the chief and often acted as a go-between, between the chief and his people. The chief often talked to people in person or in public but he seldom made announcements to a large gathering unless his yate'ite were away. The position was inherited from the father's side but could be of either moiety. The Kechayi yate'ite, Koteon, was of the Nutawic moiety, whereas the Poagisa yate'ite, E'ukiyl, was Tokeluwic. At fandangos or parties the yate'ite "prayed" before each meal. He said, "Come close to this food. We are going to have a good feast. When supper is over we will play and have a good time."

On the Wukchumni (Y) dance manager we have the following:⁴²

This man was not called winatum. He was hired for a big fandango by the chief. The position was hereditary; it always had raven for totem. The man's duty was to keep order in camp and affairs running smoothly: he called to the people to get up in the morning, went out to meet new arrivals and told them where to camp, informed the chief of their arrival; he told people to be quiet, stopped children who were playing too noisily, or women who were quarreling or "getting mad over their cooking."

The dance manager among the Wobonuch (Y) had no special name but was called natinab (winatum), just as were the official servants of chiefs and shamans.

⁴⁰ Tom Wilcox; see Appendix.

⁴¹ Josie Alonzo and Mollie Garcia, respectively.

⁴² Ellen Murphy; see Appendix.

⁴³ Joe Pohot.

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The occurrence of this official seems to be sporadic, and cannot be regarded as characteristic of the Yokuts and Western Mono. It seems to be a specialization of the winatum's office which is localized in the foothills and plains. Officials similar to winatums and dance managers occur in southern California among the Serrano, Desert Pass, and Mountain Cahuilla, and Cupeño.⁶⁰

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There was no special official for the jimsonweed ritual. A "man of good heart" who knew how to prepare the poisonous plant usually conducted the affair.

THE SHAMAN

SOURCE AND USES OF POWER

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The shaman, in the eyes of the Yokuts and Western Mono, was an institution as old as that of chief. In their mythology Owl appears as the prehistoric shaman whose duty it was, upon the creation of man, to sponsor and aid those human beings who took up the profession of doctoring. But neither in mythology nor in present reality does the shaman appear as a person having legal jurisdiction over his fellow-beings. His powers were exclusively occult. His supposed ability to manipulate supernatural elements for both good and evil purposes left him in an equivocal position. A doctor was both feared and respected; but whether he was more respected than feared or vice versa depended entirely upon his personal character.

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The shaman's source of supernatural power was a dream helper, usually an animal. The creature appeared in a dream, often that of normal sleep during the night. It spoke to its protégé, saying "Use me," or an equivalent phrase, and gave him a song. If the person thus approached wished to accept the offered power he took care not to forget the song, and would seek another encounter with his patron in a dream experience. If the creature appeared again it was to give the man further instructions: he was told what to use as a talisman in effecting cures, and perhaps given other songs. The dream helper, though often sought, might come voluntarily to any one. No one was obliged to "take" a dream. Many people felt that the rules of fasting, praying in an isolated spot, taking a tobacco emetic, basking in the sun, and so on, which were necessary to a successful

⁶⁰ William Duncan Strong, *Aboriginal Society in Southern California*, this series, 26:18, 62, 63, 167, 168, 165-167, 251, 252, 1929.

756 a Bankalachi (WM) informant. All informants speak of her as a powerful but good doctor who took part in the doctors' contest against men shamana. Her son, however, to whom she taught all her knowledge, used it for evil purposes:

754 Wuni was the last chief at the Tule River reservation. He was a Yaudanchi; he was a good man respected by all; he had only a little money.

683 Watisti had a lot of power. He had "all kinds" of supernatural talismans and dream helpers. He could make rattlesnakes bite people at any time of the year, yet such snakes were not visible to the victim.

Now Watisti disliked Wuni; he was jealous of his popularity. He sent a magic "shot" at Wuni. Though the "shot" entered at one place it scattered sickness all through his body. He died in a few days while Watisti pretended he was trying to cure him.

Upon the death of this chief several men wanted to avail themselves of the opportunity to kill Watisti. The shaman had been accused of several killings but this was the first they could "get" on him. Wuni was the last chief, so they consulted no one. On a Christmas morning under the leadership of Pete Suhua, Yaudanchi (Y), another Yaudanchi, named Poncho, Bill Waley, a Wobonuch (WM) visiting at the reservation, and Juan Teinu went to Watisti's house. He lived alone. Teinu was sent to the house to tell the doctor that some people up the creek wanted to see him. When Teinu and Watisti reached the spot where the others were in ambush they all shot at the doctor. Watisti had a talisman with him. He pulled it out, waved it, and flew through the air for a little distance but he was shot again and was killed. Watisti's mother had been dead a long time. He had no relatives that anyone can recall except his mother-in-law, who was alive at the time. She was very angry over his death and went about telling relatives of the avengers, "You're going to get a red cane," meaning that the winatum, who carried a cane ornamented with red paint, would be going about announcing their death.

CHIEFS AND SHAMANS

756 The foregoing accounts give ample evidence of the baleful effect that shamans had upon native life in south central California. That their success was largely due to what was doubtless imaginary powers does not matter; they played an awe-inspiring, dominating rôle whatever its basis. The penalty of death which was dealt shamans did not deter the strong-minded. The acquisition of wealth and power was worth the risk to the man who possessed the talents needed for the fulfilment of his ambitions.

622 The question naturally arises, what were the relations between
756 the chiefs who wielded legal power, and these impressive non-officials
572 of anti-social activities? As a matter of fact there seems to have been more harmony than conflict owing to a system of reciprocal services; a system which greatly increased the wealth of the chief on the one

182 relatively speaking. And the political institutions of Yokuts and
 [614] Western Mono were perhaps as simple as any in California. Clans
 [616] were lacking. The moiety, where it existed, regulated marriage and
 ceremonial participation. Patrilineal families dwelt together in permanent
 villages but owned no land other than an ill-defined tribal area.
 [592] The household group was not large; normally its personnel included
 a married couple, their immature offspring, and a possible orphaned
 sister of either spouse, or an aged relative. A husband and father
 was head of his own household affairs but bowed to the opinion of
 elder male relatives when the entire lineage was involved. These
 families were entirely free to go about their daily pursuits of hunting,
 fishing, seed gathering, basket, pottery, and tool making, seeking
 of supernatural experience, gambling, or idling, without interference
 from officials. There were none to interfere. The sense of right and
 182 wrong, of duty to one's relatives and neighbors, was instilled in
 869 children as they grew up. Truthfulness, industry, a modest opinion
 of oneself, and above all, generosity, were regarded not so much as
 positive virtues as essential qualities. Informants today condemn
 [577] those who are greedy, jealous, or egotistical. It was largely upon the
 personal character of individuals that the peace of a community
 depended.

692 Legal authority over the people at large was wielded by chiefs and
 622 their henchmen, the winatums. The chief's power was expressed as
 624 a general jurisdiction having a paternal-judiciary aspect. He made
 decisions on village or tribal affairs such as holding fandangos, or
 building a new sweat-house, he settled interfamily disputes, and
 granted permission for death punishments. His judgment operated
 in place of fixed laws. The winatums were the coordinating element
 in the interrelationship of the people and their chiefs: they were the
 universal joint in the social machinery. Their official activities were
 many, as executing orders from the chief, making announcements,
 carrying private and public messages between individuals and tribes,
 directing camp organization, and managing all phases of ceremonial
 activity. The presence or absence of the minor officials, subchiefs,
 and dance managers, made little difference in the powers of chiefs
 or the freedom of citizens. In other words, the chiefs, with their winatums
 as manipulating instruments, constituted the sole legal authority
 in the political system of south central California.

671 We have spoken of the complete lack of formulated law in Yokuts
 and Western Mono society. This is scarcely overstating the case, for

dreamed of it if he wanted its protection and aid, and, during ceremonies he wore a paint-pattern representing its appearance. Furthermore, if he belonged to a certain lineage, eagle, dove, bear, snake, or coyote, he had certain functions to perform which were his prerogatives. It will be seen that these factors and their interplay made up the chief's position: Eagle was chief; a person with eagle totem should be chief; the totem was derived from lineage membership; lineage membership was expressed in a number of private and ceremonial acts. This series of interrelating factors fortified each other's persistence in the cultural mechanism. To put it differently, if the chief as an institution were regarded as unsatisfactory, and a conscious desire for a change sprang into existence, the change could not be made without flying in the face of established concepts expressed in other associations, as that of Eagle as chief in mythology and ritualistic practices, or of totem with lineage which occurred in every family, or of function with totem and lineage which operated not only in the case of eagle-chief but was a fundamental factor in ceremonial activities, as the bear, snake, beaver, and coyote dances. Whatever is said here in regard to the chief in his position is equally true for the winatum.

The shaman's place in society was the result of some of the same concepts recombined with others. The lineage factor did not enter in his case. The concept expressed in mythology of Owl as a prehistoric shaman, plus the whole "constellation of ideas" surrounding the supernatural world and its relation to the real world, gave the shaman his place. Thus: the supernatural world was accessible through dream experiences; any individual might try to establish contact with it; some persons had more ability to do this than others; the more frequent the contact the more supernatural power was acquired; a few individuals accumulated so much power that they could use it to aid or injure others; such men made their livelihood by using this power, and these were shamans. The human organism being what it is, sickness and death attack it; these being undesirable states and attributable to supernatural causes such as the illwill of Eagle, Ghosts, Night, Springs, or Lightning, the shaman as a skilled practitioner with supernatural forces must be called upon to relieve them. Dangerous as an individual doctor might be, the institution of shamanism had to be endured; to do away with it would be unthinkable in the Yokuts-Mono system of thought. The fact that the supernatural world was available to any one, and that the average citizen sought and had dream experiences, simply strengthened extant con-

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GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATION.

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592 the village captain; in the other, the shaman or *si-se'-ro* (Spanish, *hechisero*). In the mountains there is some approach to this martial array, but it is universal on the plains.

621 But it is more especially in their actual organization, and in the instances of great leaders who have arisen, that this quality is manifested.
622 Every large natural division of territory possessing a certain homogeneity constitutes the domain of one tribe and one chief—for instance, a river-valley, from the snow-line down to the plains, or from the foot-hills to the lake—though nowadays this system has been disturbed by the whites. In this domain every village has a captain, who stands to the central chief in the relation of a governor to the President, and is generally distinguished from his subjects by his long hair. At certain annual meetings and other occasions each captain reports to his chief the general condition of his village as to morals, as to quarrels, as to the acorn-crop, etc. In return, the chief delivers a long oration of advice and counsel; warns, instructs, and 621 admonishes his subalterns; and, if necessary, berates soundly any delinquent. Both the chiefship and the captaincy are hereditary, that is, if the son does not prove to be a fool. But either can appoint his successor as he likes. For instance, Santiago, captain of the Tachi, had two sons, Ka'-teli and Ku'-to-mats, of whom Kateh was the first-born, but he designated the other to succeed him, because, as Kateh ingenuously acknowledged, "he was the smartest".

622 Instances of this harmonious hierarchy of ranks exist yet in Chi-wi'-ni, who is chief over all the villages in Squaw Valley; in Wa-tu'-ga, who is chief of the three upper villages on King's River; and in Slök'-nich, chief of the Chukchansi.

624 The captain has no substantial authority, even to appoint the time for a special mourning or a fandango; he must request the chief to do so in his behalf. But nowadays there are many villages which have broken away and become independent; and their captains exercise all the power the tribe will bear, which is small. In early days the chief sometimes wielded 622 considerable authority, as the following instances will evince:

Ten or fifteen years ago Pascual consolidated all the villages on King's River, except the one at the mouth, into a robust little kingdom;